

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----152105Z 082190 /73

O 152030Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8753

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 8597

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CASC, SCUL, CSCE, UR, US (TOTH, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: TOTH CASE: INTERROGATION JUNE 15

1. SUMMARY: TOTH WAS INTERROGATED MORNING AND AFTERNOON OF JUNE 15. QUESTIONS FOCUSSED ON HIS RELATIONS WITH SHCHARANSKIY. HE DOES NOT KNOW IF HE WILL BE RECALLED FOR ADDITIONAL INTERROGATIONS, BUT WAS NOT HANDED SUMMONS TO APPEAR JUNE 16. NEITHER HAS HE BEEN INFORMED THAT HE CAN LEAVE MOSCOW. IT WAS CONFIRMED TO HIM THAT HE WAS ONLY A WITNESS, NOT HIMSELF THE OBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION. HIS MORALE WAS A GOOD DEAL BETTER THAN ON THE PREVIOUS DAY. END SUMMARY.

2. MUCH OF TIME SPENT IN INTERROGATION ROOM WAS USED UP BY TRANSLATING AND WRITING PROTOCOLS AND ARGUING IF TOTH WAS OBLIGED TO SIGN THEM. THIS LEFT RELATIVELY LITTLE TIME FOR QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. HE AGREED TO SIGN PROTOCOLS ONLY AFTER A LONG ARGUMENT WHICH CONCLUDED WHEN ONE OF HIS INTERROGATORS TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS OBLIGED TO DO SO UNDER ARTICLE 160 OF THE RSFSR CRIMINAL PROCEDURAL CODE. TOTH WAS FURTHER INFORMED (AS HE WAS ON JUNE 14) THAT HIS INTERROGATIONS WERE BEING CONDUCTED UNDER ARTICLES 17, 72, 73, 141, 151, 157, 158, AND 160 OF THE PROCEDURAL CODE. IN SIGNING THE PROTOCOLS HE

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WROTE THAT WHAT HE WAS SIGNING WERE THE WRITTEN ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE PROTOCOLS (WHICH INVESTIGATORS PROVIDED JUNE 15) BECAUSE HE WAS OBLIGED TO DO SO. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE PROTOCOL COVER SHEETS WERE GREEN AS OPPOSED TO JUNE 14 RED COLORED ONE AND WAS UNSURE OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS DIFFERENCE.

3. TOTH WAS EXTREMELY IMPRESSED WITH THE DETAILED KNOWLEDGE WHICH HIS INTERROGATORS HAD OF HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH SHCHARANSKIY. THEY DISPLAYED A BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF WHEN AND WHERE HE HAD MET WITH SHCHARANSKIY. IT SEEMED TO TOTH THAT MUCH OF THEIR INFORMATION MAY HAVE COME FROM TAPES OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH SHCHARANSKIY. THE AUTHORITIES REVEALED THAT THEY DID NOT CONSIDER SHCHARANSKIY TO BE MARRIED AND STATED FORMER REFUSENIK LIDA VORONINA WAS SHCHARANSKIY'S LOVER.

4. THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS CONCERNED SHCHARANSKIY'S ROLE IN SOURCING SEVERAL OF THE TOTH ARTICLES. THE QUESTIONNERS WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN ARTICLES WHICH TOTH HAD WRITTEN USING SHCHARANSKIY TO ARRANGE MEETINGS WITH SOVIET SCIENTIFIC, REFUSENIK EXPERTS. THE ARTICLES INCLUDED THOSE ON THE CORRELATIONS OF REFUSALS TO EMIGRATE WITH THE WORK OF INSTITUTES, ON SOVIET SOCIOLOGY, ON THE SOVIET SPACE PROGRAM AND ON GENETIC ENGINEERING. TOTH ADMITTED THE ASSISTANCE WHICH SHCHARANSKIY HAD GIVEN HIM.

5. IN CONNECTION WITH WRITING SUCH ARTICLES TOTH ACKNOWLEDGED (IN THE MORNING PROTOCOL) THAT SHCHARANSKIY HAD GIVEN HIM SUCH INFORMATION AS LIST OF REFUSENIKS, THEIR FORMER PLACES OF WORK, AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR REFUSAL OF VISAS. SHCHARANSKIY ALSO, TOTH SAID, INFORMED HIM ABOUT VIOLATIONS OF SOVIET LAW BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES AND VIOLATIONS OF THE CSCE ACCORDS. TOTH WAS ALSO ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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DISSIDENT SCIENTISTS WITH WHOM HE HAD RELATIONS. HE MENTIONED THE FATHER OF ALEKSANDR GOLDFARB, EDUARD TRIFONOV, AND ALEKSANDR LUNTS (THE LATTER TWO HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY). IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON SOURCES FOR AN ARTICLE ON SOVIET SOCIOLOGY, HE ADMITTED TO HAVING SPOKEN WITH ZINOVIEV. THERE WERE NO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF EMBASSY OFFICERS WITH SHCHARANSKIY.

5. THE PROTOCOLS AS READ TO TOTH CONTAINED A NUMBER OF ADDITIONS TO WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAID, BUT CORRECTIONS WAS MADE IN RESPONSE TO HIS REQUESTS. THUS HE WAS ABLE TO SECURE THE REMOVAL OF THE NAME OF WP CORRESPONDENT PETER OSNOS FROM A LIST OF THOSE WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS WHO KNEW SHCHARANSKIY BECAUSE TOTH DID NOT NAME OSNOS IN HIS REPLY.

6. TOTH CHARACTERIZED THE TONE OF THE AFTERNOON SESSION AS "TOUGH" AND HIS FOUND HIS INTERROGATOR (WHO WAS DIFFERENT FROM MORNING

INTERROGATOR) HARsher ON HIM. THE IN-  
TERROGATOR MADE SEVERAL SARCASTIC COMMENTS ON  
TOTH'S INABILITY TO REMEMBER EVENTS AND PERSONS, AND  
REMINDED HIM OF DETAILS IN SUCH A WAY THAT TOTH FELT  
HE WAS BEING LED TO ACKNOWLEDGE WHAT QUESTIONNER  
ALREADY KNEW.

7. ON LEAVING LEFORTOVO FOLLOWING AFTERNOON SESSION,  
TOTH MADE STATEMENT TO ASSEMBLED PRESS IN WHICH HE LEFT  
IMPRESSION WITH CORRESPONDENTS THAT HE WAS SOMEWHAT CONFUSED  
ABOUT HIS PRECISE STATUS IN THE CASE BECUASE OF THE DIFFERENCE IN THE  
COVER SHEET COLORS OF THE PROTOCOLS AND BECAUSE OF THE  
REFERENCE IN THE JUNE 14 SESSION TO "SPYING".  
HOWEVER, HE ALSO SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD  
THAT HE WAS NOT BEING CHARGED WITH ANYTHING.  
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## Message Attributes

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